patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives. 553 [182]

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1920-21. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (tum) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals. 881 [304] [648]

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. [illegible]. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called sot may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called [illegible], the senior; [illegible][1] or [illegible], the middle; and [illegible] or [illegible], the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own kin, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation. 561 [197] [181] [574]

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in clan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes ([illegible], sing. [illegible]). Till about 1920 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1927 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest. 621 [198]

The Clan

The clan, oret, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, tiond ap oret, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reported to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1938-9. Each of these clans has one totem, except [illegible] which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan; the exception to this rule is found in the case of [illegible], where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom [illegible] marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. [illegible].) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reported clans are all Nandi. 614 [592] [111]

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[1] The Nandi occasionally use [illegible] for this set; it is a Nandi word meaning '[illegible].'

The women

prepare food and wait upon the men, themselves eating when the men have finished. 264
At the present day the Dorobo are taking to eating eleusine grain, which is crushed [262]
on grindstones ([illegible], N.) and made into a sort of porridge; and milk, which they 251
obtain from Nandi, if there are any near them. Beer is made from honey, and 262
is called *[illegible]* (N.). Tobacco ([illegible], N.; or [illegible],[1] N.) is bought 273
from the Nandi, and is taken by men, and occasionally by women. It is either 276
chewed ([illegible], N.) or smoked in Kavirondo pipes ([illegible], or *[illegible]*, N.), [239]
which are also obtained from the Nandi. The men carry tobacco in cylindrical
boxes called *[illegible]* (N. *[illegible]*) (Text-fig. 13), made from [illegible] (bamboo), [415]
with skin coverings for the ends, to which are attached thin leather thongs, by
which the box is slung round the neck.[2]

Agriculture and Stock.

Formerly the Dorobo possessed no stock, nor did they till the ground. During 231
the last quarter of a century or so a few of those living on the edge of the forest have 241
taken to cultivating small plantations ([illegible], N.), in which they grow eleusine 198 ●
grain ([illegible]?, or [illegible]; N. [illegible]) only. A few possess, at the present day, one or
two cows; others have a few goats and sheep; no one has more than 5 to 10 head.
The only animals they possess in numbers are dogs.

Dress and Ornaments.

(i) *Males.*—Boys wear skins of antelopes and monkeys ([illegible]; N. *[illegible]*). 291
Warriors wear skin garments of duiker ([illegible],? N.) called [illegible]; they wear
leg-bells attached to a leather band ([illegible],? pl. [illegible]) on the ankles.
Nowadays some wear pieces of cotton-cloth ([illegible], N.) dyed brown.[3] Old men
wear bush-buck skins ([illegible]) with the fur left on. Caps ([illegible]?) are worn, of
blue duiker skin with the fur left on, by old men, and of cotton-cloth by warriors.
Belts ([illegible]?) of leather are worn by old men, and of beads by boys and warriors.
Necklaces of chains ([illegible], N.) or iron-wire ([illegible], N.) are worn; also various [301]
kinds of iron ear-rings ([illegible]? and *[illegible]* (Text-figs. 15-17); N. *[illegible]*) are worn by warriors and elders.

(ii) *Females.*—The dress of the women and girls is very similar to that of
Nandi women. They wear skirts ([illegible]; N. [illegible]) and upper garments
([illegible], N.), both of tanned leather, with the fur removed, in the same manner as the
Nandi women. Their ornaments consist of iron-wire armlets and leglets ([illegible] [301]
and [illegible], N.), and wire necklaces ([illegible], pl. [illegible], N.). Married women wear

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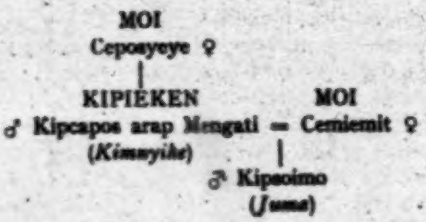
[1] [illegible] means "snuff" in Nandi.

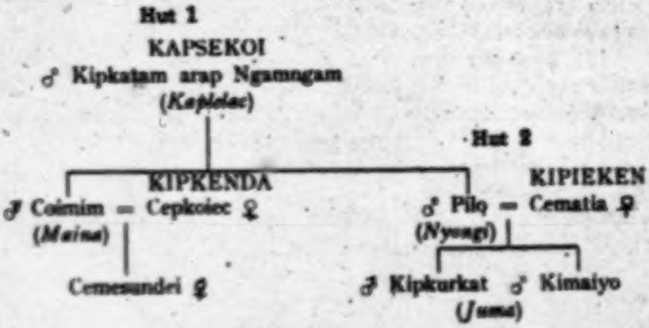
[2] These are similar to the Nandi tobacco-boxes, from which indeed they are probably [411]
borrowed.

[3] As do the Nandi, from whom doubtless the custom spread to the Dorobo.

596



An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:



Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived 361 unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became [342] ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was follow- 487 ing from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their 361 settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some 178 cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are 591 larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone 602

634 [161] [178] To-day, only three of these districts are inhabited, Kelpui, Kipkorom and Sosoiyo (with which Meteitei has been amalgamated). The inhabitants of the empty *horosuek* have joined the three inhabited districts, gone right away, or died.

These *horosuek* correspond with the Nandi *korotinuek* (sing. *koret*) as the administrative units, the difference being that the Dorobo districts are larger than those of the Nandi, and that they consist mostly of forest, or forest with a strip of open land in front of it, whereas the Nandi districts are mostly parkland with patches of forest in places. Each Dorobo *koret* 634 623 622 had its council, *kirnokot*, with a leader or spokesman, *kirnokindet* or *apaiyet*, "the old man". The *kirnokindet* was not a chief at all, as we understand the word. He held his position, not by descent, nor by election, but, as the Dorobo expressed it, by *ueliepta kitio*, "by the power of his tongue only", or more precisely, by virtue of his age, character, personality, and ability. Nor did the *kirnokindet* act for the whole horde. Each council was independent so far as its decisions went; but the interacting ties of clanship, the sense of "being Dorobo" fostered by isolation and suspicion of the outside [186] world, and the absolute need for Dorobo to stick together, united them more than one might expect, and certainly more than the nebulous authority of a horde-chief could have done.

In 1939 no *koret* council met, as far as I know, and there was nobody then holding the office of *kirnokindet* in any of the three districts. I learned, however, that the last *kirnokindet* of Kipkorom was one Cemuren arap Cepsuku, a Kimnyike, who died some years before my visit, and might perhaps have been 55 years old when he was in office; that the last *kirnokindet* of Sosoiyo had been Kipkatam arap Ngamngam, who was still alive in 1939, aged about 80, and was said to have been *kirnokindet* at the time of the last Nandi War in 1905, which would make him about 45 when he took office, which he resigned before 1925; and that the last *kirnokindet* of Meteitei was Ncascas arap Meirlca, a Kipkoiimet who died "many years ago", and must have been over sixty at the time of the Nandi War. The phrase "in office" must not be taken too literally: there was nothing official about a Dorobo *kirnokindet*, and he was really no more than a primus inter pares who from his character and personality was looked upon as a fit person to listen to.

634 623 [182] 177 These facts would seem to indicate that not only had no council been held since before 1937, but that the system itself was already beginning to fall into disuse independently of the move of 1937, its place being taken more and more by the clan council. I think there is no doubt that the *koret* council was a feature acquired from the Nandi, and that while the Nandi lived close to the Dorobo it functioned smoothly. But the Nandi were cleared away from the forest in 1906, and for a time there was a break in their residential contact with the Dorobo. After a time, they began to come back, in smaller numbers than before, and only as squatters on the farms into which the area had meanwhile been divided; but as a result of this short break the Dorobo had lost some of their familiarity with them, and their characteristic shyness had taken its place. I noticed that when Dorobo

789 the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect
of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood
world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of
uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always
completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that
what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

224 The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this
178 is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure
the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves
to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than
a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear
[648] of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older
Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly,
that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might
think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents
the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted
224 in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for
789 example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical
division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow
and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the
magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in
it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to
whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere
matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap
and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the
trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain
from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition,
lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the
observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But
when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

783 We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of
789 purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious;
so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people
do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy
231 of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out
789 to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere
invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

787 If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kiphuukuu* or *kiphookoo* (both species
of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out
825 to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left,
[224] he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

771 778 Maintenance of ritual relations with the spirits is effected by the recognized offerings made to them; and with 'nature', on which the food supply depends, by other means (see below).

773 776 **The World Order.** In the myths related at the beginning of § 5, the thunder plays an important part, and is even portrayed as a man. One might almost assume from this that he was believed to be an earth-dweller who began a second life in the sky as the thunder-god who controls the rain, [827] for the notions of rain, mist, and thunder are all interwoven, and the rainbow is "the arm of *Ilet* that draws water for him". These myths reflect the Dorobo [130] attitude of the people to their surroundings. One of the chief features of the forest is heavy rain and frequent mist, and it would be surprising if we did not find among them the conception of some sort of rain-being who brought mist. Again, since rain is plentiful and droughts rare, the rainmaker 132 is not needed, and although the lowest known rainfall, 28 inches in 1933 at [776] a place two miles from the edge of the forest (and probably a little higher in the forest), would indeed constitute a drought year elsewhere, in the absence of both crops and cattle an occasional low rainfall does not matter so long as there is enough to make the plants flower. Even a heavy rainfall of 70 inches or over does no more than cause temporary inconvenience where there are no crops to be damaged and the slopes prevent flooding. The Tindiret forest is, in fact, an ideal place for hunters to live in. However prolonged the dry season, the conditions for wild life are better there than in the open plains below, and low rainfall has never yet prevented a supply [224] of game to hunt or trap. Whether the people are able to kill enough game to ensure a supply of food is another matter, and the inter-relation is not so much that between man and nature in general, but between man and [783] the animals. Man's wrong-doing is thought to produce either a failure of the supply of animals, or his inability to kill or catch what is there in abundance.

182 183 884 **Social Values.** Things which are important to man because they are indispensable to him have what is called a social value as well as a ritual value, because between man and them there is created a relationship which man must maintain if he is not to suffer. The food supply of a hunting people is got from day to day and depends on the skill of the hunter. It is uncertain, because on any given day the hunter may not find game, or having found it may not kill. But precarious as such a life might seem, there is no evidence that in the past there was often any great scarcity from either of these two [178] causes. The old men say, in fact, that whereas food is scarce under present-day conditions, in the old days when hunting was not restricted it was, if not always abundant, at least enough. Such a statement is not, I think, merely an exaggerated memory of better days, the outcome of a longing to get back to the forest, but it explains in part the otherwise remarkable scarcity of hunting magic and ritual procedure. Some hunting magic there certainly was, and fear and ignorance prevent free talk about it; but it is clear that when the food supply throughout the centuries is found adequate,

200-300 ft. in most places. Once the forest is 133
reached, the slope is gradual, ranging from 8,200
ft. to 8,400 ft., though the main river, the Kip-
kurere, flows through a valley 1,000 ft. deep.
The rainfall, taken at Kapchorua farm about two 132
miles from the W. boundary of the forest,
averages 56.54 inches over 9 years from 1929 to
1937: the maximum was 70.33 inches in 1937,
the minimum 28.61 inches in 1933; in the
forest itself the rainfall is undoubtedly higher.
The forest is always damp: mists are frequent,
and even in the dry weather it is not always quite
dry, a condition which is responsible in part for
the rather high infant mortality among the [165]
Dorobo. On the edge of the forest are glades [137]
with a fringe of thorn trees (acacia robusta), and
between the forest and the farms is a strip of
land, included in the Forest Reserve, which is [311]
suitable for cultivation and stock-keeping. The
year is divided into two seasons, *Mwasimosik*, the
dry season from October to March, and *Iwot*,
the wet season, from April to September. These
determine both the now obsolescent hunting [178]
activities, and the increasing agricultural activities.

B. *Economic Activities.*

The economic life of the Dorobo may be 224
divided into two phases: (1) the old hunting [178]
existence, which began to disappear about 1925 [648]
when the Government started seriously to restrict [656]
their forest life, and (2) the present trapping-
agricultural life in which cultivation is becoming [241]
of increased importance.

The economic group is either the elementary [594]
family or the domestic family (or, the extended [596]
family). Sexual division of work overlaps to 462
some extent, but most of the work outside the
settlement is done by men (hunting, trapping,
woodcutting, and intercourse with the outside
world), while the women do the work inside the
settlement, except that they collect all the [222]
vegetable food from the forest. Agricultural work [241]
is performed by both sexes. Things peculiar
to women are: the making of clothes, leather
work, and baskets; to men: making weapons
and other utensils, digging coloured earth, and
putting meat on the fire to cook (though the
women look after it once it is on the fire).

[P.193, B]

he found hunting on his area, though he would be 423
liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide. [682]

As for trapping, it is said that nobody steals 224
meat from traps because their bellies would swell [685]
to a great size if they ate stolen meat. Public [626]
opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean crime, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and buck[1] are killed for their meat [237]
and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bowstrings.

2. Agriculture.[2]

178 ●
The Dorobo are in process of changing from a
hunting to an agricultural existence, from the [224]
uncertain hunting economy to the more certain
one of agriculture; and the same economic [241]
pressure which has forced them to till the soil is
now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are [233]
being slowly and laboriously acquired. This leads in turn to a more self-supporting state, with less
dependence on the Nandi for grain crops; and [648]
agricultural techniques, both in tillage and stock, are being learnt from the Nandi and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (*imbaret*), 241
and are helped by children, who weed the crops, [462]
herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops [857]
grown at present are eleusine (*eleusine coracana*, called *wimbi* in Swahili) and maize; millet and
tobacco are still bought from the Nandi, from [839]
whom the Dorobo also get eleusine and maize seed
when necessary. Unlike the distribution of the 241
forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the 423
ground close to their own homes, and a group [351]

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[1] The buck killed are:
[illegible], blue duiker (cephalophus aequatorialis). [136]
[illegible], red duiker (c. [illegible].)
[illegible], bush buck (tragelaphus scriptus.)
[illegible], reed-buck
[illegible], oribi
[illegible], water-buck (cobus ellipsiprymnus).

[2] I prefer the term 'agriculture' to 'horticulture,' for the latter implies mere cultivation, with no [illegible], and in East Africa agriculture is almost always practised in conjunction with stock-rearing, even if only on a small scale.

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *imbaret* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and livestock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. [462] Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. [342] [241] [224] Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. 592 421 Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. [224] Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. [244] Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. 574 Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. 273 And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochogget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. 342 They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. [177]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Minip, for example, says he was one of those who had none. 224 Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. [178] [248] ●

/243 cont./

551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Asá one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/244/ VII.

000 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

881 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as
171 among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the
561 Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (*bogodendgt*, *bogododig*)
form an age class (*ebindadgt*), which borrows its name from that of
561 the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys
171 are called *barnotig* (sing. *barnotendgt*), corresponding to the *el barnot*
of the Masai. When the latter become *el móran*, the former correspondingly become *dobonog* (sing. *dobonatog*), and later, with their marriage, *daẽma* (sing. *daẽmog*), corresponding to the *el moruak* of
[291] the Masai. The *bogododig* dress exactly like the *es sibolio*, and, like
[223] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they
adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (*ol boror*) of
the Masai gets a new name, that of the Asá adopts it also. They
[178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes
them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their
[791] own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation --
that the *ol oiboni*,[1] whom the Asá also call *ndärug*, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The *ebindadgt* also choose their head -- the *ol aunoni* of the Masai -- who here is called *nfig* or *kisiridjo* or also *aunoni*. As among the Masai, this is
an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges
[892] either. Here the *kirua kidgt*, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes,
corresponds to the *ol aigwenani* of the Masai. The *kirigit* corresponds
[224] to the *ol oiboni* of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially
on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in
[555] pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

[1] [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Asa--Analyst]

/251 cont./

224 262 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. [223] [439] As huntable, i.e., here edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the *ol onjugi*, no one goes hunting, because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. [825] [777] The red-headed *Anaplectes melanotis* is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the *dobenog* of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. [262] [224] On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the *en dook*, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. [263] [216] The many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. 561 224 They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called *e siodet*, in which one recognizes the present Masai word *ee sirit*. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. [974] If an individual hunter or an e siodet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/360 cont./

423 The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.
224
421 Only one half of any slain game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his campmates together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives: in both cases: insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (ligatok, ligaach) of the elephant each receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have
• [178] been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /361/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the horns (hadokg, hadama) of the rhinoceros the hunter receives in exchange poison or arrow points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the slain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his campmates.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the caravan people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandorobo never want one kind of goods alone, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452
426 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife: in the latter instance, he deducts the amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable,
[592] and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable.